

THE REMONSTRANCE.

BOSTON, JULY, 1912

The Remonstrance is published quarterly by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women. It expresses the views of women in Massachusetts, Maine, Rhode Island, New York, Illinois, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Oregon, South Dakota, Connecticut, Maryland, New Hampshire, Wisconsin, Ohio, Virginia and other states.

Any one who desires to receive the quarterly numbers for one year can do so by enclosing 25 cents in stamps to the Treasurer,

MRS. JAMES M. CODMAN,
Walnut St., Brookline.

Information in regard to The Remonstrance and other publications of the Association may be obtained from the Secretary, Room 615, Kensington Building, Boston.

Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women.

MASSACHUSETTS

Forty-one Branch Committees; 17,000⁺ members in 354 cities, towns, and villages.

MISS MARY S. AMES, President.

MRS. J. RANDOLPH COOLIDGE,
MISS ANNA L. DAWES,
MRS. CHARLES ELIOT GUILD,
MRS. CHARLES D. HOMANS,
MISS AGNES IRWIN,
MRS. HENRY M. WHITNEY,

Vice-Presidents.

MRS. JAMES M. CODMAN, Treasurer,
Walnut Street, Brookline.
MISS ELIZABETH JOHNSON, Rec. Sec'y.
MRS. CHARLES P. STRONG, Cor. Sec'y.
Room 615 Kensington Building, Boston.

* Not present membership of women over 21 years of age; eliminating those names which the Association has lost from deaths, resignations and removals from the State.

"LADIES FIRST"

THIS was the simple command given by the officers of the steamship *Titanic* after her collision with an iceberg on the night of the 14th of April.

It was not a mere phrase of courtesy. It did not mean that men should step aside for women, as a man might give precedence to a woman in a street car, or in entering a hall. It meant that, with a supply of lifeboats and rafts sufficient to save only one-third of the passengers and crew, the men should give place to the women. The men were stronger than the women. They might have crowded into the lifeboats and rowed away. But they did not.

They helped the women to safety, and themselves went down with the ship. Out of all on board, only a handful of men, aside from those needed to man the boats, were saved.

The Journal of Education, commenting upon this fact, rightly said: "The world must surely be better for the spectacle of multi-millionaires and the other men passengers helping women and children into the lifeboats and confronting their own death with composure."

This is true. Yet what happened on the *Titanic* is precisely what would have been expected to happen. The whole world would have been shocked if a different order had prevailed. It was the instinct of the average man in his relations with the average woman,—the instinct of care and protection and of sacrifice when necessary, which was manifested at that tragic moment.

Is it too much to hope that, in view of this typical and significant incident, suffragists who have busied themselves with attempts to arouse sex antagonism will relax their efforts in that direction for a little? At least until this incident is forgotten, let it be admitted that the average man, up and down the social scale, is neither a brute nor an enemy of woman.

NO MARTYRDOM FOR HER

Miss Christabel Pankhurst, it would appear, has no craving for the glory of martyrdom.

She disappeared from London immediately after the window-smashing crusade in March. The police authorities gave orders for her arrest, wherever found, and distributed descriptions of her broadcast. But, whether she is in hiding in London or has fled the country altogether has not been disclosed.

If she is in the United States, as has been intimated, her friends are wise in preserving reticence as to her whereabouts; for the charge of criminal conspiracy, brought against her in London, might justify a demand for her extradition.

LINDSEY VERSUS LINDSEY

ONE of the most valued allies of eastern suffragists is Judge Ben B. Lindsey of Denver. When anything goes wrong in Colorado,—race-track gambling bills, child-labor laws or what not—they turn to him for an explanation. They bring him east to make suffrage speeches in New York and Connecticut and other states. This is not surprising, for Judge Lindsey's admirable work in connection with the Juvenile Court in Denver entitles him to respect.

But there must be moments when Judge Lindsey's suffragist admirers,—and, for that matter, Judge Lindsey himself—must wish that certain passages in an article which the Judge printed in Everybody's Magazine for May, 1910, could be expunged.

Judge Lindsey was writing about the campaign which he had led in Denver against the forces of municipal corruption which he graphically characterized as "the Beast" and "the System." And he said:

"At the beginning of the campaign, I went to practically all the woman's suffrage leaders who, at national meetings, had been telling how much the women had done for the Juvenile Court in Denver; and none of them dared help me. Women like Mrs. Mary C. Bradford and Mrs. Lafferty (who was a member of the last legislature) took the platform against me and supported the System in its attempt to 'get' the Juvenile Court."

And, while still declaring himself an enthusiastic advocate of woman suffrage, in spite of these dishearten-

ing experiences, Judge Lindsey wrote:

"If any one believes that woman's suffrage is a panacea for all the evils of our political life, he does not know what those evils are. The women are as free of the power of the Beast as the men are,—and no freer . . . In a typical American community such as ours, where the Beast rules, the women are as helpless as the rest of us . . . Their leaders in politics are politicians; when they get their nominations from the corporation machines, they do the work of the corporations; and there is almost no way, under the Beast, to get a party nomination except from a corporation machine. Women in politics are human beings; they are not "ministering angels" of an ethereal ideality; and they are unable to free us, because they are not free themselves."

But if all this is true,—and what suffragist can dispute Judge Lindsey's authority?—what becomes of the claim that woman's vote will purify politics? If Colorado women, after nearly twenty years' use of the ballot, are no freer of the power of the Beast than men are, what good end was served by their enfranchisement?

Judge Lindsey, speaking from eastern platforms as an advocate of woman suffrage, is one person. Judge Lindsey, writing frankly, from a full heart, of his own personal experience of the betrayal of a good cause by woman politicians and the folly of relying upon women's votes against "the Beast" is another.

There is a chance here for a very interesting trial of the case of Lindsey versus Lindsey.

MISS ADDAMS'S ACHIEVEMENTS (From the *Louisville Courier-Journal*)

Miss Addams in her own personality and life casts a radiance upon the subject (suffrage). She has achieved a work of regeneration within the sphere of her single attempt transcendent in its beneficence and in its reach. Her triumphs ring around the world. Has the lack of a vote impaired her vigor or abridged her usefulness? Has she lacked for sympathy and support of any man or any body of men whom, if she had possessed the vote, she might have enlisted?

MRS. PANKHURST'S SENTENCE

Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, joint editors of "Votes for Women," were found guilty, at the old Bailey sessions in London May 22d, on the charge of conspiracy and inciting their followers to malicious damage to property, and each sentenced to nine months' imprisonment. The sentence was later so modified by the Home Secretary as to give the prisoners the treatment of first class misdemeanants.

On the 24th of June, Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Lawrence, both of whom had engaged, with some of their imprisoned followers, in a "hunger strike" and had resisted forcible feeding, were released from Holloway prison, and placed in private hospitals.

Anti-suffragists do not exult over Mrs. Pankhurst's humiliation and sentence. On the contrary, they deplore the events which led up to it. But they believe that society must defend itself against organized disorder of whatever sort; and they feel that stern action was necessary in this case, if demonstrations still more violent and lawless were to be prevented.

AMERICAN "MILITANTS" NEXT

AMERICAN suffragists have hitherto been rather careful to explain that "militant" methods were not contemplated in this country.

They have defended and praised the Pankhursts. They have entertained them lavishly, and have sent them to England with large contributions to aid them in their campaign of violence. But they have insisted that conditions in England were different from those in this country; and that methods which were justifiable there would not be used here.

But their view, it appears, is changing. Through no less a person than Rev. Anna Howard Shaw, their National President, they now openly proclaim their purpose to adopt the English suffragette methods, under certain conditions. Addressing the Philadelphia Woman Suffrage Society at the New Century Club,

March 15th, Miss Shaw declared for "militant suffrage for America." Inquired of the next day as to her meaning, she said, according to the New York Times Philadelphia correspondent:

"If we are played with, made fun of, just tolerated, greeted with supercilious smiles by members of Congressional committees, there is nothing for us to do but to resort to militant methods. We hope we will not be driven to measures as severe as those used in England, but, if it does come, the daughters of old English sires will be ready to suffer here as women are suffering in England."

Miss Shaw seems to have found an apt pupil in her militant doctrines in Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont; for the New York Evening World of March 18, published an interview with Mrs. Belmont, apropos of Miss Shaw's declaration, in which Mrs. Belmont is quoted as saying:

"Women in America will choose their own militant methods and use them, too, without waiting very much longer. I believe there are millions of women who are ready to go to the lengths of actual warfare if they can prevail on those in power in no other way."

And you think the war would be successful?

"It would have to be. The men of America aren't going to kill all the women, or even stand by and watch some men do it. If one state started such a struggle, the others would unite. Women would be shot down, but others would take their places. And in the meantime they would have the satisfaction of knowing that men were being shot and killed. The women would have to win in the end."

And can you set any time when this war is likely to begin?

"When the women's patience is quite exhausted. I can't say when other women will come to the point of revolt, but I can speak for myself and I know that I don't intend to stand very much more."

With leading American suffragists talking like this, we shall perhaps soon see the Woman's Journal following the example of the London "Votes for Women" and advertising "Ju-jitsu for Suffragettes."

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ASSOCIATION

THE annual meeting of the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women was held at the Hotel Tueries, Boston, May 1st.

Miss Mary S. Ames

President of the Association, in her opening address, reviewed the history of the suffrage agitation during the past year; the adoption of a suffrage amendment to the constitution of California by an extremely close vote; the pending popular vote in Wisconsin, Kansas, Oregon, Michigan and Ohio upon proposed constitutional amendments; and the vehement suffrage campaign in New Hampshire, which aims to induce the Constitutional Convention to include woman suffrage in the new constitution of that state. Hitherto woman suffrage has been successful only in the West, where the conditions are quite different from those in New England. To capture a New England state would give the suffragists an enormous advantage. This explains their vigorous campaign in New Hampshire. In Massachusetts this year, the adverse report of the legislative committee upon all the suffrage petitions was, for the first time, unanimous. The report was accepted in both branches. For this victory, grateful thanks are due to Mr. Charles R. Saunders, defender of the anti-suffrage cause for many years, whose recent untimely death is a serious loss.

If, on the one hand, there has been a great increase of suffrage activity during the year, there has also been a very encouraging awakening of anti-suffrage sentiment all over the country. The first four months of 1912 witnessed the formation of anti-suffrage associations in Connecticut, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Virginia, Wisconsin and Ohio, and a district association in Washington, D. C. A National Association has been organized, with its headquarters in New York, and has begun the monthly publication of an official organ, "The Woman's Protest." The

men of Massachusetts have awakened to the necessity of action and have formed the Men's Association Against Extension of Woman Suffrage, which is now a vigorous organization prepared to help defend the community and assist us in our fight. Never before was so much interest shown in our cause, and never was the need of loyal and devoted work greater. "We can defeat this thing if we will" said Miss Ames. "In the words of Lord Curzon at the great anti-suffrage meeting in London: 'Do not let us be moved by that cowardly and hateful plea, The vote must come. In the domain of politics, nothing *must* come. Let our motto be: This shall not come.' It is, I believe, in our power to prevent its coming."

Miss Ames presented to the Association Mr. Augustin H. Parker, secretary of the new Men's Association, who gave an interesting account of the formation of the Association.

Reports were read by Miss Elizabeth Johnson, Recording Secretary, and Mrs. James M. Codman, Treasurer; and the roll of Branches, called by Mrs. Charles P. Strong, Corresponding Secretary, was answered by a large number of representatives from various cities and towns.

Mrs. William Lowell Putnam

Chairman of the Organization and Education Committee, reported a marked gain in all lines of work. The membership of the Association now stands at 16,639, an increase of 1,053 over last year's report. The number of meetings held is thirty per cent in advance of last year, and the attendance and interest have been correspondingly gratifying. Besides the addresses made by our Secretary of Organization, Mrs. A. J. George, and by volunteer speakers from our Association, there have been addresses by Miss Emily P. Bissell, Miss Minnie Bronson, Miss Margaret Doane Gardner, Mrs. Grace Duffield Goodwin, Mrs. Barclay Hazard, Miss Heloise E. Hersey, Miss Molly Elliot Seawell, Dr. Ernest Bernbaum, Mr. Frank Foxcroft, the late Mr. Charles R. Saunders, and Dr. Talcott Williams. New branches have been formed in Dedham, Dover, Wenham, and Westwood, and the Junior League, formed last year, has been doing valuable work. The Study Class has held regular meetings, under the leadership of Mrs. George,

and has heard addresses on related subjects from Dr. Bernbaum, Mr. William Maxwell Evarts, and Hon. Robert Luce. There has been an encouraging increase in the range and quantity of work carried on from the Association's headquarters, and an especial gain is noted in the number of requests for literature both by letter and by personal calls.

In closing, Mrs. Putnam said: "The danger to the nation in the agitation for woman suffrage is very grave, and the sophistry with which it is urged is most deceiving. Its advocates have the ardor of the fanatic and the zeal of the crusader. They believe themselves to be the true advocates of progress. It is for us to show that progress can only be made along the lines where Nature leads, that only by working with her can any gain be effected. The time in which we are living is a very critical one, not only for our country but for the whole world. Women hold the future in their keeping, and it is because we believe so strongly in the need for woman's work and woman's power that we are Anti-suffragists."

Officers Elected

Officers were elected as follows: President, Miss Mary S. Ames; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. J. Randolph Coolidge, Miss Anna L. Dawes, Mrs. Charles E. Guild, Mrs. Charles D. Homans, Miss Agnes Irwin, Mrs. Henry M. Whitney; Treasurer, Mrs. James M. Codman, Brookline; Recording Secretary, Miss Elizabeth Johnson; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Charles P. Strong; Executive Committee, the above officers, and Mrs. Robert S. Bradley, Mrs. Martin L. Cate, Miss Sarah H. Crocker, Miss Elizabeth H. Houghton, Mrs. Henry P. Kidder, Miss L. C. Post, Mrs. William Lowell Putnam, Mrs. B. L. Robinson, Miss Elizabeth P. Sohler, Mrs. Barrett Wendell.

A Tribute to the Heroes of the Titanic

The following tribute to the heroes of the *Titanic* was offered by Mrs. William Lowell Putnam, and was unanimously adopted,—all rising, and standing a moment in silence:

"On behalf of the women of Massachusetts, this Association offers its grateful tribute of admiration and reverence to the memory of those men

who on the 'Titanic' gave up their lives that the women and children might be saved. We honor alike the British seamen and the American passengers who testified the willingness of the men of the English-speaking race to sacrifice themselves even unto death for the protection and welfare of women. We offer this tribute not to these men only, but to the spirit of true manhood on both sides of the ocean which this act typifies, believing that while this spirit lives there can be no fear for the future, and that it will never die unless we women prove ourselves unworthy of such a sacrifice."

The closing address of the afternoon was given by

Miss Minnie Bronson

well-known for her work as a special agent of the United States Bureau of Labor to investigate the conditions of labor of women and children, and author of the pamphlet, "The Wage-earning Woman and the State."

Miss Bronson met with a decided negative the argument of the suffragists that the spread of woman suffrage in the western states has been due to its successful operation in neighboring states where it had been on trial. Wyoming was a territory when the ballot was given to its women, with a population of 7,219 males and 1,897 females. From so meagre a population, distributed over so great an area, no significant results were obtained, and it was not the example of Wyoming, but the influence of the Mormon church that brought woman suffrage into Utah. In Idaho, too, the Mormon influence is strong, and it is more than doubtful whether that state could have been carried for woman suffrage without it. In Colorado, the large Mormon population doubtless played its part in bringing in woman suffrage, but the immediate cause was the wave of Populism, which swept the West in the eighties and early nineties. Even with the Populist support, as the election statistics show, the vote for woman suffrage was not a large one, and we may infer that, in Colorado, as more recently in Washington and California, it was not the conviction that it had worked successfully in other states, but the failure of a large number of voters to express any interest in it that admitted woman suffrage.

A WELCOME ALLY

THE Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women greets as a welcome ally the new "Men's Association Against Extension of Woman Suffrage."

Hitherto, while conservative Massachusetts men have given their sympathy and sometimes their active aid to the Association of women organized to oppose woman suffrage, they have not been organized in such a way as to make their assistance steadily effective.

Present conditions require organized work by men as well as by women. The new Association, whose admirable statement of principles is elsewhere printed, will render invaluable service in shaping public opinion, and in dissipating the apathy of the large number of men who, though not in sympathy with the suffrage movement, have been inclined to take it lightly and have not realized the menace to our cherished institutions which its success would involve.

Massachusetts should be able not only to withstand this movement within its own borders but to promote organized resistance to it in other states. In this larger work, as well as in that within the state, the new Association will be a helpful ally.

THE CHICAGO PRIMARY

THE Chicago suffragists made a vehement campaign to secure a favorable expression of opinion from the voters of that city at the primaries in April. The net result of all their exertions was that every ward went against them, and the total vote was 71,354 in favor of extending suffrage to women, and 135,410 opposed. The suffragists profess themselves delighted with this result, but their rejoicings sound a little insincere. However, if they can be made happy by a vote of nearly two to one against them, no one, surely, would begrudge them many repetitions of such occasions for rejoicing.

TAXATION AND SUFFRAGE

To the Editor of The Remonstrance:

A favorite answer to any one who opposes woman suffrage is that our government was founded on the principle that "taxation without representation is tyranny." This cheap and catchy phrase has done a great deal of harm, for the Colonists at no time professed any such theory in regard to internal taxation and our government was not built on any such principle—quite the contrary.

What the Colonists fought for was the right to fix their own system of taxation and not to be levied on by another government where their conditions were not fully understood, and for the benefit solely of that far-off country. They gained their right to self-government in the same way that most countries have gained their independence, viz., by a trial of force. And as soon as they had proved their ability to enforce their will, they proceeded to tax every property owner, man, woman and child; but they *limited the suffrage* in every state by property, religious or educational qualifications and invariably by sex. "The religious and property qualifications so characteristic of the 18th century gradually disappeared," and after the Civil War with the enfranchisement of the negro we had almost arrived at universal manhood suffrage. Since then, however, there has been a tendency to place a higher value on the elective franchise and thirteen states now possess an educational or property qualification.

A TAX-PAYING WOMAN.

TEACHERS AGAINST SUFFRAGE

THE English suffragists appear to have felt no doubt that they could induce the National Union of Teachers, at its last conference, to declare in favor of suffrage, and they fully realized what an accession of strength to their cause such a declaration would be. Accordingly, they introduced into the conference a resolution expressing sympathy with women "who desire to possess and exercise the Parliamentary franchise, but because they are women, and for that reason alone, are by law debarred from it." But the suffragists miscalculated their strength. After a spirited debate, the resolution was voted down by a majority of nearly 14,000,—the vote being: For, 22,284; against 36,225; majority against, 13,941.

CHARLES R. SAUNDERS

THE Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women wishes to express its profound sense of loss in the unexpected death, April 16, of its long-time friend and adviser, Mr. Charles R. Saunders of Boston.

Mr. Saunders was one of the first of Massachusetts men to grasp the full significance of the suffrage movement, and to exert his influence against it. He was a leader in the organization of the men's association which, in 1895, conducted the campaign against suffrage in the referendum upon the expediency of extending municipal suffrage to women. In the intervening years, he had been the unfailing friend and counsellor of this association of Massachusetts women, organized to oppose woman suffrage. He had repeatedly served the association as its counsel in the presentation of its case at legislative hearings, never more effectively than in the present year. His thorough knowledge of the subject, his strength of conviction, his mastery of details and his clearness and forcefulness as a speaker made him an invaluable ally for the conservative side of this grave question.

The association is not unmindful of the public service which Mr. Saunders rendered upon other questions and in other departments of activity; but it chiefly deplores the loss which the cause with which it is identified suffers through his death.

Mary S. Ames, President.

Mrs. Charles P. Strong,
Secretary.

SUFFRAGE DEFEAT IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

By a roll call vote of 208 to 149, the New Hampshire Constitutional Convention, June 20, rejected a proposed amendment to the constitution granting full suffrage to women. The amendment had been adversely reported by the committee to which it was referred, by a vote of 9 to 7.

This defeat is a serious blow to the

suffrage cause. The suffragists had been busy for months with their propaganda in New Hampshire, and up to the very day when the vote was taken had professed to be confident of success. Ten years ago, a similar amendment was acted on favorably by the constitutional convention but was defeated at the polls. This shows that, during the decade the suffrage cause has not gained ground but lost it in New Hampshire.

THE REMONSTRANCE extends its congratulations to the women of the anti-suffrage organizations of New Hampshire, to whose intelligent and well-directed efforts this result is largely due.

AN EFFECTUAL BAR

(From the *Boston Advertiser*, April 3, 1912)

IT is probably quite safe to predict that if the time ever comes when the women of Massachusetts unitedly ask for woman suffrage, there will be little opposition in either branch of the legislature to the change in the constitution. But the very fact that the greatest opposition to equal suffrage comes from a well-organized and never tiring organization of women, many of them widely known and respected in this state, has proved an effectual bar to woman suffrage in Massachusetts up to this time, at least.

AFTER THE PLUMS IN COLORADO

(From the *Denver Republican*, April 2, 1912)

WHILE all the women are buzzing over the possible candidacy of Miss Gail Laughlin as district attorney and the Democratic women are busy with internecine strife, the Equal Rights party of mysterious membership is holding secret and daily meetings. The plan is to have women nominated for different offices on the different tickets and the combined vote of the women of Denver exerted to elect them. Everybody agrees that this is a beautiful plan, but the Democratic women and the Republican women and the Citizens' women all want the same offices. There is the office of recorder. The Democratic women are making a fight to have one of their number nominated for this office. The Republican women want the office and so do the Citizens' women.

It has been decided that the recorder's job is the best plum the women could go after. No, it doesn't offer the incumbent opportunities to accomplish a great good for the community, the nation and the world, but think of the patronage! There isn't another office in the city and county with so much patronage.

"We want an office with patronage," said one prominent woman yesterday afternoon. "Of course a woman can't do much as recorder but she'll have a lot of jobs to distribute. We women are tired of being given offices that have no patronage attached. How can a woman officeholder work up a personal following without patronage to give her workers? That we haven't had it before is the reason we are so weak in politics."

The women would also like a supervisor or two and a member of the election commission. They will make a strong fight for the office of secretary of state. Think of all the patronage in that job! "We want offices where there are enough spoils to reward our workers," is the new campaign cry of the suffragists of the state.

NO GROUND FOR SEX ANTAGONISM

(From *The London Times*, April 5, 1912)

THERE are several millions of homes in this country, rich, well-off, and poor, in which all these terrible matters of sex antagonism are dealt with day by day and year after year in such fashion that neither man nor woman is aware that they exist. We really must get back to sanity in our general conceptions of sex relationship before we can even measure much less deal with, whatever is wrong and remediable in our social system. The sexes in the main get on admirably together, as Nature intended they should. Men and women in the mass do not care a fig for the physiology that bulks so largely in some controversial writings and speeches. They know that speculations of that kind are just good enough to be an ingredient in a novel, but that all that matters in real life is how one concrete human being can live on cordial and affectionate terms with another. That is everybody's own personal problem, and it has to be solved by some old-fashioned virtues that happily still flourish among us, not by any abstract studies of sex.

THE ENEMY AT THE GATE

UNDER this striking title The Outlook for April 6 published an article by Dr. Max G. Schlapp, the head of the department of neuropathology in the Post-Graduate Medical School and Hospital of New York City and in the Cornell Medical School, sounding a note of warning regarding certain modern tendencies.

Dr. Schlapp's conclusions are, in substance, that the strain of modern life is having an effect upon men, and especially upon women, that can be traced biologically; that it is such as to impair the vigor and faculties of a great proportion of children that are now being born into the world; that the effect is seen in injury to motherhood, in a reduced birthrate, in an increase in the proportion of the mentally defective, the insane and the delinquent; and that the resultant conditions are such that nothing short of a radical change in present tendencies can save modern civilized peoples from going the way of the Greeks and the Romans.

Among women who do not have to work for a livelihood, the strain of social and public activities works almost as great havoc. The abnormally active woman is filled with an impetuous desire to do things that are beyond her powers. Pleasures cease to give the desired stimulation, and then women advance to dispute the philosophy of the ages, and to contest with men in all pursuits. Dr. Schlapp goes on to say:

"Gentle women, naturally retiring and unassertive, become suffragists and suffragettes, and they stand boldly on a soap-box in a public square, before a motley throng, to proclaim their demands. These same women, driven by the exigencies of the hour, approve such conduct on the part of their sisters as that of breaking up meetings, storming and insulting public men in the streets and smashing windows. These conditions are only an evidence of a nervous distress that has become universal. . . . Latter-day women, driven by the strife of the elements within them to enormous exertions are asking in what way women are inferior to

men and are attempting to demonstrate their equal physical endurance. It is not a question of equality at all. It is one of physical difference in the sexes which forbids women from performing either factory labor or disquieting tasks."

One lesson to be learned, if the enemy of which this eminent nervous expert writes is to be driven from our gates, is the duty of resisting all excessive and unnecessary demands upon the energies of women. First of these is the demand that the ballot be imposed upon women, with all its responsibilities. This is something that society does not need, and that women do not need. No conceivable good can come to either from it. But it would greatly add to the burdens and anxieties of women, and would accelerate those destructive forces whose mischievous workings Dr. Schlapp points out.

WOMAN AND PHYSICAL VIOLENCE

(Sir Almroth Wright in *The London Times*)

UP to the present, in the whole civilized world there has ruled a truce of God as between man and woman. That truce is based upon the solemn covenant that within the frontiers of civilization (outside them of course the rule lapses) the weapon of physical force may not be applied by man against woman nor by woman against man. Under this covenant the reign of force which prevails in the world without comes to an end when a man enters his household. Under this covenant, that half of the human race which most needs protection is raised up above the waves of violence. Within the terms of this compact everything that woman has received from man and everything man receives from woman is given as a free gift. Again, under this covenant a full half of the programme of Christianity has been realized; and a foundation has been laid upon which it may be possible to build higher, and perhaps finally in the ideal future to achieve the abolition of physical violence and war. And it is this solemn covenant, the covenant so faithfully kept by man, which has been violated by the militant suffragist in the interest of her morbid, stupid, ugly and dishonest programmes.

SUFFRAGE AND WOMEN WORKERS

One of the familiar arguments for woman suffrage is that the conditions and hours of workingwomen would be greatly improved, because women have so much more sympathy for their own sex than have men. But have they?

In a recent letter in *The Springfield Republican*, Miss Katherine H. Leonard directs attention to the fact that, out of 380,675 women industrially employed in Massachusetts, according to the last census, 67,670, or about one sixth of the entire number, were engaged in domestic service of one kind or another. Of this form of labor Miss Leonard writes:

It is in the way of manual labor probably the best paid, the best housed, and the best fed of all the unprofessional occupations. Almost without exception it is and has been from time immemorial in the hands of women. Women have regulated the wages, hours of labor and general policy of its work. It is the most natural of occupations to the ordinary woman. Nevertheless, it is the most unpopular. Domestic service is almost wholly recruited from the newly-arrived foreigners, or the woman who is unable to make a living in any other way. A social stigma is attached to it, and fewer enter its ranks with each succeeding year. If as women we have had wholly in our control in the past many years one-sixth of the laboring women of the community, and have failed to make good in our management of our task, shall we so better the conditions of the other five-sixths whom we have as yet little directed? Let us first cast out the beam from our own eye before we lay claim to be able to remove the mote from our brother's eye.

TACT

Scene: The street in front of Messrs. Robinson & Crusoe's plate glass window. There is a sudden crash as Percy saunters by; and he turns round hastily, and sees to his horror that the lady with the hammer is an acquaintance of his.

Percy (nervous but always the gentleman): Oh—er—it's Miss Jones! . . . Er—good morning. . . Can I—er get you a—a—policeman or anything?
—Punch.

NOTES ON SUFFRAGE AND ANTI-SUFFRAGE

THE New Jersey Assembly concurred with the Senate in rejecting the proposed resolve for the submission of a suffrage amendment to the constitution. In the first legislature of the new state of Arizona, woman suffrage has been defeated.

"OPPOSITION to Votes for Women is criminal," according to The Woman's Journal for May 11. If that were true, it would be appalling to reflect that the great majority of American men and women,—say from two-thirds to five-sixths—belong to the criminal class.

THE WOMAN'S JOURNAL of April 27 admits that THE REMONSTRANCE is a "tidy little sheet of eight pages" but thinks that "its pages are small and uninteresting" and adds that it "has no headlines to speak of and no illustrations." But is this kind, after THE REMONSTRANCE gave several inches of space and the full benefit of its circulation to The Woman's Journal's touching appeal for information as to suffragists with families?

THE REMONSTRANCE welcomes with pleasure "The Woman's Protest," the new official organ of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. It is published monthly at the office of the Association, 29 West 39th St., New York City. It is varied in contents and vigorous and pungent in style; and it will do valuable service in disseminating sane and sound views on the suffrage question. The subscription price is one dollar a year; single numbers ten cents.

THE SUPREME COURT of New Jersey has given a quietus to the often-repeated but preposterous claim that because a few New Jersey women voted more than a century ago, all women of that state should be allowed now to register and vote. A Passaic woman, who was denied the right to register last fall, brought action on the ground that the law of 1807, which limited the suffrage to

males, and the act of 1844 calling a constitutional convention, which contained the same limitation, were unconstitutional. The Supreme Court decided against all her contentions.

RELIGIOUS conventions and other non-political bodies should be on their guard against efforts made by suffragists to secure the endorsement of their views. No considerations of courtesy or the fitness of things restrain these efforts. The annual meeting of the American Unitarian Association at Boston in May furnished a case in point. After a suffrage resolution had been unanimously ruled against as inexpedient by the committee of the Association, it was rushed through in response to vehement suffragist appeals. This hasty and ill-considered action called out a protest from Unitarian women who objected to it as a misrepresentation and an injury to the cause of Unitarianism. The protest was signed by Mrs. Thomas Allen, Miss Mary S. Ames, Miss Mary F. Bartlett, Mrs. W. H. Burlen, Mrs. J. R. Coolidge Jr., Mrs. Charles Eliot Guild, Miss Elizabeth Johnson, Mrs. Prescott Keyes, Mrs. Fred T. Lord, Mrs. Grant William Nowell, Miss L. C. Post, Mrs. Charles P. Strong, Mrs. W. W. Vaughan and Mrs. George Wigglesworth.

WHAT THE REVOLUTION MEANS

COMMENTING, in its issue of May 5, upon the suffrage parade of the preceding day, the New York Times very truly says that the comparatively few men who believe that the suffrage should be extended forthwith to women, though they may not be very wise or thoughtful men, deserve more respect than the men who, believing the contrary, and knowing that the vote will secure to woman no new privilege that she either deserves or requires, and that the enfranchisement of women must inevitably result in the weakening of family ties, yet dismiss the movement with idle, trivial comment.

The situation, the Times goes on to say, is dangerous. Women will get the ballot, and play havoc with it for themselves and for society, if the men are not firm and wise enough to prevent them. There is no reason to suppose that the right to vote would allay feminine discontent. If women are granted the suffrage, they will demand all that that right implies, an apportionment of high offices, and a share in executive, legislative and judicial responsibilities. In her pursuit of all the privileges and duties of men, woman is deliberately endangering many rights which she now enjoys without legal sanction. She receives honors and privileges which the coarser man will soon learn to withhold from her when she jostles him at the polls. It will be a sad day for society when woman loses the respect which she now receives from all but the basest of men. Of the effect upon the home and the family of the revolution wrought by woman suffrage The Times says:

"Millions of men labor all their years to keep up a home, of which a woman is mistress. Poor enough the home may be, and the measure of toil its upkeep demands of the man may age him prematurely and deprive him of all the freedom which he instinctively desires. But most men throughout the civilized world have been doing their duty as husbands and fathers, as citizens, according to their lights. That the triumph of woman suffrage would tend quickly to change the point of view of these millions of plodding men is not to be doubted. If woman declares her independence and forces the State to recognize it, the cry of the men will be 'Let her uphold it and enjoy it as best she may.'"

NOT ENTHUSIASTIC FOR SUFFRAGE

(From the Salem, Mass., News, April 4, 1912)

WHATEVER conditions may be in some of the states, the fact remains that the women of Massachusetts, generally speaking, are anything but enthusiastic for the right of suffrage. And a feature that must not be overlooked in connection with this indifference is the spirited antagonism to the proposed change by an organization of women, who do not make the mistake of allowing their efforts to cease immediately after the House administers the usual quietus to the woman suffrage measure.

A NEW MEN'S ASSOCIATION

In the belief that the time has arrived when there is need of organized work by men against proposed changes in the constitution and laws of Massachusetts further extending the suffrage to women, a "Men's Association Against Extension of Woman Suffrage" has been formed. Its statement of principles is as follows:

The Woman Suffrage Question

1. Suffrage as interpreted by the United States Supreme Court is not a natural, inherent, or inalienable right. Were it such, then it should be universal, without limitation or regulation. Such a theory would bar limitations as to age and ability to read and write, and regulations as to enrolment, all of which are admittedly necessary.

2. The fundamental question is whether the further extension of suffrage to women will promote the general welfare.

3. Taxation *without* representation may be tyrannical, but the taxation of the property of women in Massachusetts is not tyrannical. In our laws relating to taxation, the only distinctions based on sex are in favor of women. Widows and unmarried women above the age of twenty-one have the benefit of an exemption from taxation of property to the amount of \$500 more than men, and women are not, like men, subject to a poll tax.

Taxation *with* representation may also be tyrannical. If a majority of the voters have but little taxable property, they may be tyrannical to those who have more. Woman suffrage would increase the percentage of those voters having little or no taxable property.

The socialist party advocates woman suffrage. Its chief aim is to force an equal division of property. The methods of taxation which would bring about such a result would be tyrannical in the extreme.

4. Will woman suffrage tend to make homes more happy, comfortable, attractive, and peaceful, or in any way more perfect? Will it tend to strengthen the bond between wife and husband? Will it help mothers to take better care of their children? Will it make children happier or better?

Is it not calculated to bring about just the opposite results?

Anything which permanently in-

dures the home cannot be for the common good.

5. It is urged that if women voted they could compel employers to give them better wages. Obviously, however, legislation requiring the payment to women of higher wages than those determined by the unwritten but universal law of supply and demand must result in their failure to get employment, unless, indeed, the law goes farther and bars men from the competition.

There is reason to believe that woman, armed with the ballot, will not be able to protect herself as well as she is now protected by the loyalty of man. An examination of the laws of states in which women vote will show that the ballot has not secured for them advantages superior to those enjoyed in non-woman-suffrage states. If woman should be put by law on exactly the same footing as man, she would not be as well off as she is now.

6. The influence of woman, voting, will not be the same as that which she now exercises. It will become more like that of man, and those who appreciate most highly her present influence fear that much will be lost and nothing gained.

7. Will woman suffrage bring about a better administration of the business affairs of a city, or town, or of the state?

There are no legal barriers which prevent a woman from entering into any business which she may select. There are more women than men in this state, and yet, as is well known, for every woman conducting business on her own account there are hundreds of men so engaged.

The men of our state have a wider and more intimate knowledge of business affairs than have the women. That women appreciate this is shown by the fact that when they have to entrust the care of their property to others they generally select men rather than women for the purpose.

By reason of their comparative lack of experience, necessarily resulting from their natural sphere and environment as distinguished from that of men, the judgment of women as a whole on business affairs cannot be as good and safe as that of men.

The administration of public business by men is far from perfect. It will not be improved by increasing the percentage which the uninformed vote bears to the whole. The corrupt politician gets his principal sup-

port from the multitude of the well-meaning but misinformed.

8. Civilization depends upon, and advances through, division of labor.

The power of a vote involves the duty to cast that vote intelligently and effectively. To do this, a citizen must keep himself informed throughout the year as to public men and their doings, and he must do his share toward the adoption of right principles and the selection and election of the best men. This much, at least, every voter should do. It takes both time and strength and is sometimes very burdensome. This burden, if thrown upon woman, will be greater than for man, because woman will have less opportunity for, and more difficulty in, keeping herself informed. If woman undertakes it, her present ability to do other work for which she is specially fitted will be impaired. That there should be a division of labor between man and woman is plainly indicated by their functional differences.

9. The heavy and dangerous work of the world is not for women. They should not be called upon nor permitted to perform police or military duty. Power and responsibility should go together. The fact that it is man who must enforce the laws, support state policies, and defend our homes is a reason why he alone should have the power to make the laws and determine the policies. Responsibility for results sobers judgment and conduces to wise action.

SUBMITTED BY THE MEN'S ASSOCIATION
AGAINST EXTENSION OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Holker Abbott
Charles F. Adams, 2d
David Crocker
George G. Crocker
Charles P. Curtis
Frederick P. Fish
Aaron H. Latham
Augustin H. Parker
Henry Parkman
James M. Prendergast
Thomas Russell
Richard M. Saltonstall
William T. Sedgwick
William W. Vaughan

Executive Committee.

A. H. PARKER, *Secretary*,
60 State Street, Room 108, Boston.

OHIO will be the first state to vote this year upon the suffrage question. September 3 is the date fixed by the constitutional convention.